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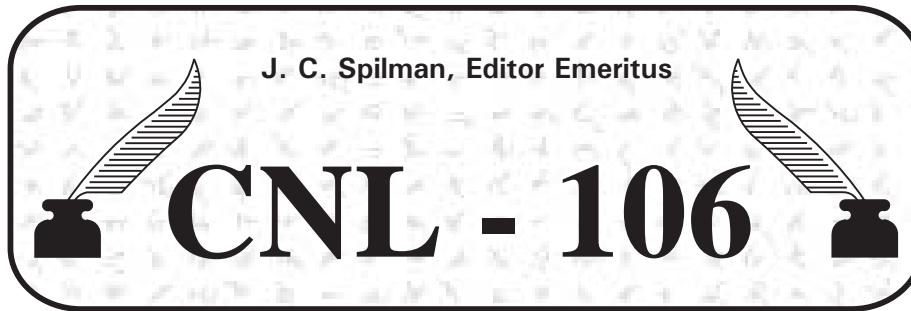
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P. L. Mossman, M.D., Editor

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EDITORIAL

The *CNL* now has a list of 1,100 subscribers, many of whom joined us from the ranks of the ANS when a *CNL* subscription was made available to its members. We welcome all these new readers and certainly invite your participation. If any of you have prepared articles of interest to our patrons, or perhaps just have inquiries or comments, we would be pleased to hear from you.

In that some of our new readers may be new to the field of colonial numismatics, I would like to take this opportunity to introduce another organization, the Colonial Coin Collectors Club, or C4 for short. This organization, which specializes in the same period as we do, has many *Colonial Newsletter* patrons among its members. By the time you receive *CNL* #106, the C4 will have held its 3rd annual convention in Boston in conjunction with the Bay State Coin Show. Besides this annual event with an auction, numerous regional meetings are held in conjunction with other major coin shows. The *C4 Newsletter*, published quarterly, contains club news, schedules of events, and original articles and commentaries by members. For devotees of early American numismatics, I urge you to consider C4 as another resource to enhance your knowledge of this fascinating period of our history.

For more information about C4, please contact their president:

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I am also pleased to announce that the Proceedings of the eleventh annual Coinage of the Americas Conference, *Coinage of the American Confederation Period*, was selected to receive the Numismatic Literary Guild's "Best Museum Catalog" at the July ANA Convention in New York. All of the contributors to this valuable volume on pre-Federal numismatics are *CNL* patrons.

Patrons are reminded that research grants are available through the Donald Groves Fund at the American Numismatic Society to support research and publication in the field of early American numismatics involving material dated no later than 1800. Funding is available for travel and other expenses in association with such projects, including publication costs. Applications, in letter format, should be addressed to Mr. Leslie A. Elam, Executive Director of the ANS, and include an outline of the proposal, its methodology, and the amount requested together with an indication of how the money will be applied to the investigation. Applications will also be considered for publication support for manuscripts on topics meeting the fund's criteria. All requests are reviewed by the Donald Groves Fund Committee as received; typical grants range from \$500 to \$5,000.

Also, bear in mind that *CNL* patrons, themselves, are another great resource for information. If you need some assistance with your pet research project, or perhaps are just stumped with a numismatic question you would like to bounce off the readership, please remember *CNL*'s special features, the **RF** (Research Forum) and **AE** (Ask the Editors), which were designed for just this purpose. (See *CNL*, p. 1690.) Don't be bashful and drop us a line.

See you in April with the start of a good line up of papers for 1998.

The Editor

EDWARD MARIS, M.D. - NUMISMATIST

by

Roger A. Moore, M.D.; Moorestown, NJ

with significant contributions from
Mark S. Auerbach and William T. Anton, Jr.

INTRODUCTION

Considering the major importance of Edward Maris, M.D. to the field of numismatics in general and New Jersey copper coinage specifically, it is surprising that so little is known about his life and background. James Spilman, the past editor of *The Colonial Newsletter*, indicates that "Maris remains one of the mystery men of early American numismatics"¹ and the little knowledge we have gained about his life has been published by Mark Auerbach in *Penny-Wise*,² *Coin World*,³ and *The Numismatic News*⁴ along with one photograph of Edward Maris as a young man⁵ and one as an older man.^{2,3,4} An unpublished photograph of Dr. Maris from the personal collection of William T. Anton, Jr. is shown in Figure 1. Though new information has been discovered about Dr. Maris's life during the research for this paper, much about his drives, ambitions and even numismatic jealousies⁶ still remains a mystery.

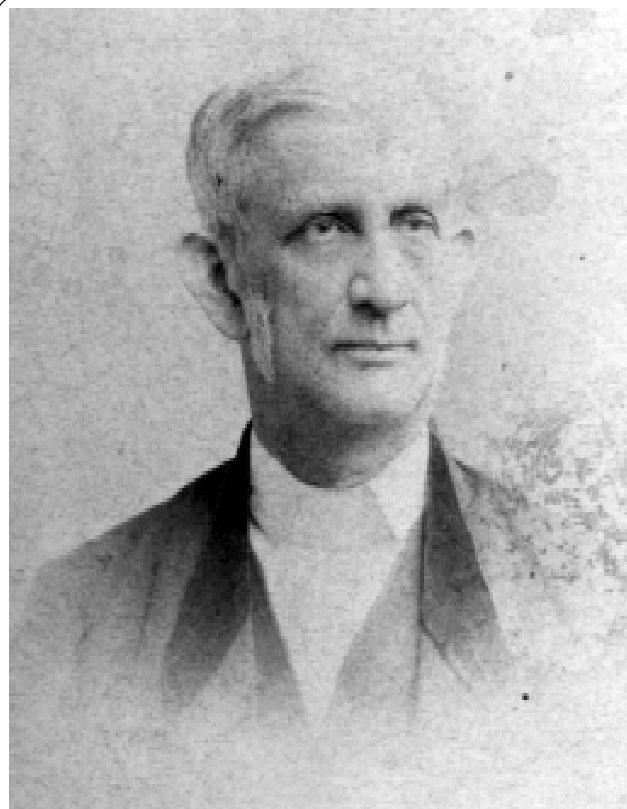


Figure 1
A photograph, not previously published, of Edward Maris, M.D. as an older man.
With permission from William T. Anton, Jr.

GENEALOGY

At the bicentennial reunion of the Maris clan in 1883 attended by Edward Maris, M.D., Emma F. West read a presentation prepared by Dr. Clarence F. Maris on the history of the Maris name.⁷ The first written appearance of the "Maris" name occurs in Homer's *Iliad* in a description of the sixth battle for Troy. Maris was one of the two sons of the Trojan warrior, Amisodarus, who died in combat with Nestor's two sons. The name, "Maris," was not unusual in ancient times and in fact was common during Solomon's reign. Around 362 A.D. "old blind Bishop Maris" is recorded as having discussed religious cures with Julian the Apostate. In the sixth century Sir Ector de Maris was a prominent knight of King Arthur's court, and on the request of the wizard Merlin, served as the foster father of King Arthur during Arthur's youth. One adventure of Sir Ector de Maris of note was the slaying of the four Green Knights with Sir Lancelot, Sir Bleoberis and King Arthur.

Obviously Edward Maris's ancestry cannot be traced to any of these historic or literary figures, but more definitive knowledge exists concerning his family tree dating back to the 1600s. It is documented that George Maris with his wife and six children fled religious persecution in England to the more tolerant America in 1683.⁷ Prior to their immigration to America, they resided in Grafton Flyford in the parish of Inkborough in the county of Worcester (Worcestershire) in England. Due to strong Quaker religious beliefs and his inability to conform to the customs of the established Church of England, George and his family became the targets of oppression and persecution. For instance, on July 23, 1670, George Maris had his goods confiscated and sold in order to raise money to pay a twenty pound sterling fine for having permitted a religious meeting at his home without the supervision of the services by a "priest of the State Church." In addition to the fine, George Maris was also confined for eight months in an English prison. The combination of this ongoing persecution, in conjunction with the philanthropic terms offered by William Penn for immigration to Pennsylvania, led George to uproot his family from England and travel to America in 1683. A testimonial letter written on 3/6/1683 by the Friends Monthly Meeting Parish, of which George Maris was a member in good standing, attested to George's good character and faith. This letter resides as the fifth page of the oldest records of the Darby (Pennsylvania) Monthly Meeting.⁸ After immigrating in 1683, George Maris and his family spent a short time with friends in Darby who had immigrated a year earlier. However, on 8/6/1683, he acquired a 400 acre tract of land which had a natural spring in the county of Chester (now Delaware County) in Pennsylvania through a grant from William Penn. The city of Springfield which grew up nearby is believed to have gotten its name from the presence of the natural spring on George Maris's property. The patent for the land grant was signed by William Penn on 5/13/1684 and required George Maris or his heirs to pay him or his "heirs and successors at or upon the first day of the first month in every year at the town of Chester one silver English shilling for every one hundred Acres or value thereof in coyn (sic) currency...".⁹

George Maris built a home on this property which he named "Home House" and almost immediately after taking up residence, became a prominent citizen in his community. He served as a Justice of the Peace, a Judge of the Courts, a member of the Provincial Assembly, a minister of the Society of Friends, as well as an active farmer. The lineage arising from George Maris that eventually led to Doctor Edward Maris is shown in Figure 2. The "Home House" was passed from George Maris to his son John and then on to John's oldest son, George. Of interest, Edward Maris's grandfather, Jonathan Maris, was a physician who studied medicine under Dr. C. W. Moore and is described as "a man of imposing appearance and of unusual skill in his profession."⁷ However, he died at the age of 32 years, when his only son, Jesse, was 4 years old. Jesse Maris, Edward's father, grew up in his grandmother McIlvaine's home and was educated by his uncles, R. and H. McIlvaine, as an accountant in the lumber business. On 10/15/1815 he married Mary West and they made their permanent home on a farm in Chester township given to them by Mary's father. Jesse became the President of the Bank of Delaware County in 1841 and he held that post until his death on 12/15/1860. He is described as "a meek and humble Christian, a member of the Religious Society of Friends" who had a "manly bearing," a "kind and courteous" disposition, and was "deeply interested in the cause of the slave."⁷

Edward Maris was born on March 15, 1832,¹⁰ and was the seventh of eight children. Of interest, Edward's oldest brother, John M. Maris, was a businessman who sold wholesale drugs in Philadelphia and was put in charge of the Philadelphia Alms house in 1859, at which point he undertook a major reform of the medical administration of that institute. Since Edward Maris was a physician during this period, it might be speculated that he had a hand in this reform. Interestingly, one year after John M. was appointed to be in charge of the Philadelphia Alms House, Edward became the resident physician for the Philadelphia Dispensary, and he held that post until 1879.

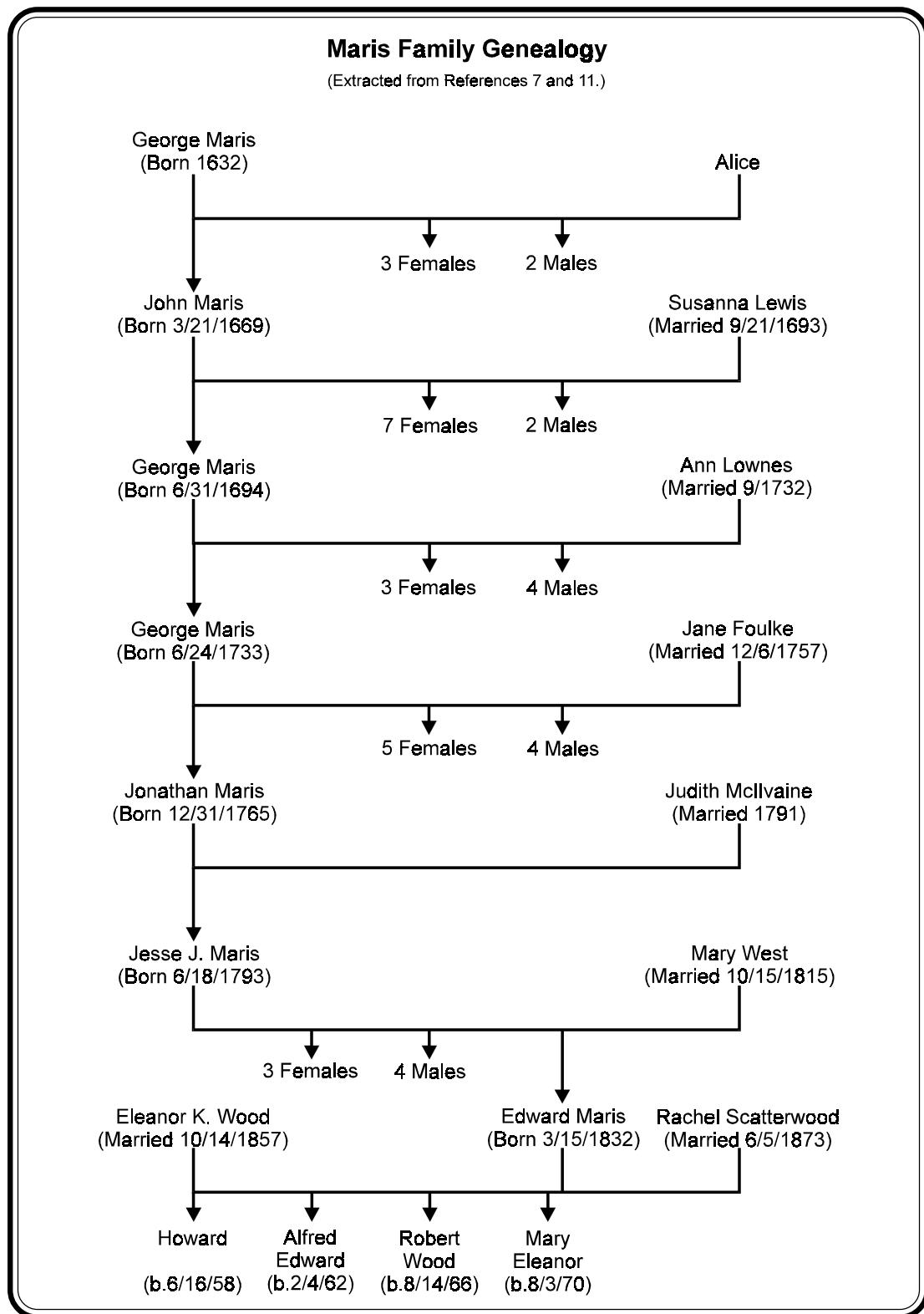


Figure 2
Genealogy sequence leading to Dr. Edward Maris.

Edward Maris married Eleanor K. Wood on 10/14/1857 and had three sons - Howard (6/16/1858), Alfred Edward (2/4/1862), and Robert Wood (8/14/1866); and one daughter - Mary Eleanor (8/3/1870).¹¹ After his first wife's death, he married Rachel Scattergood on 6/5/1873, but no children resulted from that marriage. At the time of his death on 6/13/1900, Alfred Edward Maris and Mary Eleanor (then Mrs. George Y. Wood) as well as four grandchildren were still living.

THE PHYSICIAN

On October 1845 at thirteen years of age Edward Maris received formal education at Westtown Boarding School located in Chester county, Pennsylvania. He left Westtown School in April 1846 after only six months, but this approach to schooling was evidently not unusual in that era.¹² Though Edward is stated to have been a mathematics instructor for a time at Haverford College following his early education,^{3, 10, 13} Haverford records do not indicate that he matriculated or taught there.¹⁴ We do know that Edward Maris entered medical school at Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia in the year 1853. The class size that year for all students numbered 627, of which 270 were to graduate the following year.¹⁵ During this era medical school was generally only two sessions of instruction. Edward Maris's first session began in October of 1853 and ended in March of 1854. An address by John H. Brinton, M.D. on "The Faculty of 1841" which was delivered in 1880 before the Alumni Association of Jefferson Medical College, provides insight into the training that Dr. Maris received as a student.¹⁶ Dr. Brinton indicated that during the period of Edward Maris's matriculation, there occurred a "true rise and healthy growth of the school, the attitude of the Faculty was one of harmony, nay, of unanimity."¹⁶ On October 20, 1854, Edward Maris signed up for his second session of medical school classes in the Jefferson Medical College Student Registry. This is one of the new signatures of Edward Maris discovered during our research (see Figure 3), though a number of other signatures attributed to Edward Maris are thought to exist in dedications of his catalogs and books to individuals.¹⁷ In addition to his signature, Edward Maris also wrote that he lived in the city of *Chester* located in *Delaware* county, *Penn*. The registration ledger also indicates that it was his 2nd term for which he paid \$15, that his preceptor for the year would be *R. M. Huston*, and that he had attended his first session of medical school at Jefferson Medical College (J.M.C. 1853-54). (Italicized words were written into the registry by Edward Maris's hand.) It was common for medical students to have private preceptors from the medical faculty.¹⁸ R. M. Huston can be readily identified as Robert M. Huston, M.D. who was appointed Professor of Obstetrics at Jefferson Medical College in 1838 and elected to the Chair of Therapeutics and Materia Medica in 1841. Dr. Huston is described as a "thoroughly cool-headed, clear sighted man" who "always sought to guard his classes against the heroic use and abuse of medicines."¹⁹ Of interest, Dr. Huston married Hanna West, daughter of Samuel West of Chester²⁰ (the town in which Edward grew up). The "West" name figures prominently in the Maris family genealogy⁷ with Edward Maris's mother, Mary West, being the sister of Dr. Huston's wife, Hanna West!!! It would not be undue speculation to suspect Dr. Huston through his ties with the West family, may have played an important role in directing young Edward Maris into the medical profession; and once Edward had taken that step, to encourage him along as a preceptor.

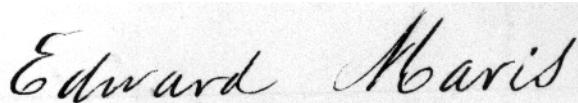
A cursive signature of "Edward Maris" is shown within a decorative rectangular frame with a double-line border. The signature is written in a fluid, handwritten style.

Figure 3

Signature of Edward Maris as it appeared in the Jefferson Medical School registration book of 1854.
Reproduced with permission from Thomas Jefferson University Archives and Special Collections,
Philadelphia, PA.

After two full courses of medical school lectures, candidates for a medical degree could sit for their exams, if they were "of good moral character and at least twenty one years of age."¹⁵ In addition, each student was required to submit "a thesis of his own composition correctly written, and in his own handwriting, on some medical subject."¹⁵ Edward Maris successfully graduated on March 10, 1855.²¹ The title of Dr. Maris's thesis was "Mental Development" which was accepted as fulfilling his degree requirement. No copy of the thesis is known to exist.¹⁸ A premonition of the attitude that would drive Dr. Maris into the top ranks of American numismatists was presented in the Valedictory Address delivered by Professor Pancoast²¹ at Dr. Maris's graduation from medical school. Dr. Pancoast stated, "few have attained distinction in any walk of life, who have not, instead of trusting to the doubtful favors of accident or fortune, early resolved to win fame, and merit distinction."²¹

THE NUMISMATIST

The influences that led Dr. Maris to develop an interest in numismatics are unknown. In Dr. Maris's obituary in the *American Journal of Numismatics*,¹³ a statement occurs that Dr. Maris "began his collecting soon after engaging in practice (medical) ... by an effort to complete a set of the U.S. cents." The earliest documented evidence of his involvement in coin collecting is provided by his own hand in the preface of his classic description of New Jersey colonial coinage, *A Historic Sketch of the Coins of New Jersey*,²² where he states that he had "been engaged since 1867, in collecting the different varieties of these (New Jersey coppers) pieces, including the several combinations of obverse and reverse." Though New Jersey coppers were being collected in 1867, we can surmise that he was also actively acquiring the varieties of large cents and half cents of the year 1794. In May of 1869 Dr. Maris's first numismatic publication was released, *Varieties of the Copper Issues of the United States Mint in the Year 1794*.²³ This fifteen page pamphlet which had one hundred copies issued, categorized 39 varieties of copper cents from 1794 and five half cent varieties from the same year. Charles Davis has indicated that this work was hastily put together and incomplete due to an intense jealousy by Dr. Maris of Sylvester Crosby's publication of *The Cents of the Year 1793*²⁴ just one month earlier. Mr. Davis substantiates this view by indicating a second edition was issued only eight months later with four additional one cent varieties described.⁶ Though Mr. Davis's observations may be valid, Dr. Maris did not reveal a competitive, jealous nature in his dealings with others. For example, in a letter to Edouard Frossard dated 7/5/1874, Dr. Maris freely allowed Mr. Frossard to adapt his classification system for use in the study of 1794 cent varieties and Dr. Maris offered that he had "found thirty-five obverses and thirty-seven or thirty-eight reverses"²⁵ up to that point. This information was not jealously guarded but openly shared. In Charles Steigerwalt's review of the 1794 cent²⁶ Dr. Maris is described as having provided a "pioneer investigation of the die varieties of the 1794 cents" while Ed Frossard's monograph is described as being "simply copied from Maris's first treatise."

During his early collecting years Dr. Maris had a wide range of interests in numismatics. For instance, in 1861, Robert Lovett, Jr. of Philadelphia is known to have made dies secretly for a proposed one cent coin to be issued by the Confederate States of America.²⁷ Based on commentary by John Haseltine in the cataloging of the first of these coins to be auctioned,²⁸ Mr. Lovett evidently "struck 12 pieces, but showed them to no one and kept the matter quiet, fearing that he might be arrested if it were known." It is thought that Dr. Maris bought all the coins, "either ten or twelve," and was the consignor of the first of these coins to be auctioned. Dr. Maris's acquisition of these coins is further supported by two additional Confederate cents appearing in the auction of his own coin collection in 1886 by Henkels.²⁹ In the Henkels catalog for which Maris personally provided the commentary, it states that only 16 of the Confederate cents were known. Whatever the number of Confederate cents minted, 10, 12 or 16, it is evident that Dr. Maris acquired at least some of them from Mr. Lovett. Also, we know Dr. Maris's father was an abolitionist, and the Quaker faith strongly supported this viewpoint. Since Dr. Maris was an active

Orthodox Quaker, we can assume that he had similar feelings, but these convictions did not prevent his numismatic interests from including a contract coin intended for the Confederate States.

Though Dr. Maris's foray into large cents was a major accomplishment, his work in cataloging New Jersey coppers is what has firmly anchored him in the ranks of great American numismatists. As Dr. Maris indicated in the preface of his New Jersey copper monograph,²² he began acquiring the copper coins of New Jersey in 1867. He did make some mistakes in his early collecting and attribution of New Jersey horse heads. The most glaring occurred in 1869, two years after starting his collection of New Jersey coppers, when he published a description of a new head left variety in the *American Journal of Numismatics*.³⁰ Dr. Maris's exuberance in this discovery can be observed in his description of the horse - "with head erect, dilated eyes, the right ear thrown forward, the delicate top-knot elevated, he expresses his emotion with a neigh. ...the observer, who, struck with his artistic beauty, naturally queries why he was rejected and his unworthy opponent chosen to be the pocket companion of New Jersey's sons and daughters."³⁰ I agree with Charles Davis that Dr. Maris was probably embarrassed when an analysis by Sylvester Crosby revealed the coin to be a fraud, but I interpret Dr. Maris's response in a different light. Dr. Maris accepted Mr. Crosby's interpretation without argument and rejected the coin immediately, in spite of others in the Philadelphia numismatic community wishing to fight the Crosby interpretation as erroneous. Dr. Maris's ability to accept, without protest, that he had made a mistake would seem to indicate the presence of integrity and honesty. In any case the mistake was made only two years after Dr. Maris began collecting New Jersey varieties and such an error is understandable. Also, Dr. Maris includes in the preface of his book on New Jersey copper coins²² the statement, "Alterations of the genuine into something designed to attract by its peculiarity, and fetch a good price" are not included in the monograph but that "such pieces have been seen, - therefore, beware of them." Thus, a public acknowledgment alluding to his error and warning other collectors of this danger is provided in his own book.

A major portion of Dr. Maris's collection of New Jersey coppers was acquired on 3/15/1876²² when Dr. Maris bought the collection of New Jersey coins belonging to Dr. Montrovile Dickeson. The date of March fifteenth was Dr. Maris's birthday, so this may well have been a birthday present to himself!! The receipt for the sale states, "I have sold and delivered to Dr. Edward Maris of Philadelphia the whole of my type table of coins of New Jersey: comprising eighty-four (84) pieces ... and all the varieties with which I am acquainted, with the exception of two (2)." The two not acquired were an *Immunis Columbia* and a date under plow-beam which were both described in Dr. Maris's New Jersey monograph. Of immense importance to any student of New Jersey colonial coinage, or for that matter any pre-Federal coinage, is Dr. Montrovile Wilson Dickeson's landmark book, *The American Numismatical Manual*, which was the first major attempt at categorizing colonial coinage.³¹ By the third edition of Dr. Dickeson's classic book,³² 119 varieties of New Jersey coins were recognized and described - 31 varieties from 1786, 74 varieties from 1787, and 14 varieties from 1788. Unfortunately, only the obverse of each variety was described and the various reverses associated with each obverse were listed as "varieties" without description. In spite of this major shortcoming as well as numerous inaccuracies, Dr. Dickeson's book, including two of the twelve facsimile plates with gold toned line drawings of New Jersey obverses and reverses, was the first major effort at putting some order to the various subtle differences of New Jersey coppers. The influence of Dr. Dickeson on Dr. Maris is not known, but it can be surmised that Dr. Dickeson's early efforts served as the basis upon which Dr. Maris built his monumental work. In addition, a comparison of Dr. Dickeson's book with Sylvester Sage Crosby's classic work, *The Early Coins of America*, which was published in 1869,³³ also shows that much of Crosby's work had Dr. Dickeson's insights at its foundation.

From an advertisement which appeared in the November 1877 issue of Frossard's *Numisma*³⁴ we know that Dr. Maris was still acquiring "New Jersey Coppers: particularly unusual varieties" after having obtained Dr. Dickeson's collection. By 1881 Dr. Maris had completed his studies of the New Jersey varieties and announced the coming publication of his New Jersey monograph.³⁵ The announcement states that the monograph "will be a heavy paper, (70 lb.) 17 page, large folio, and about 115 copies printed. The plate will be by Gutekunst...." Of interest in this announcement Dr. Maris also indicates that "no instance is known of any colonial that shows the New Jersey under another pair of dies." The cost of the monograph was \$3.50 for copies with plates of 75 lb. paper (\$1.50 without plate), and \$4.00 for the monograph with plates of 100 lb. (\$2.00 without plate). Therefore, two varieties of the Maris book exist with heavier paper used for the plate in one variety. Finally, the announcement also informs the readership that Sylvester Crosby was authorized to sell the book in New England. Though Mr. Davis views the sale of the Maris book by Crosby⁶ as a major affront to Dr. Maris due to their presumed rivalry, I believe this actually underlines a lack of animosity by Dr. Maris toward Mr. Crosby. If any animosity did exist, it may have been on the part of Crosby since the lack of "even a gratuitous book review" in the then New England sponsored *American Journal of Numismatics* for a work which to this day remains "the accepted standard for the State coinage of New Jersey" points to immaturity, ignorance, and perhaps even jealousy on the part of the "Boston Boys." However, since Mr. Crosby allowed Dr. Maris the use of electrotypes made from two of his unique New Jersey pieces, the 4-C and 35-W, I doubt that Mr. Crosby held much personal animosity toward Edward Maris either.³⁶ A second announcement of Maris's book appeared in the March 1881 *Numisma*³⁷ indicating that 120 copies of the monograph were printed. Of interest, the same edition of *Numisma* has an advertisement by Ed Frossard requesting to buy "varieties of '94 cents, as per Dr. Maris's list."

Dr. Maris's elephant sized folio contained a high quality "photograph" by B. F. Gutekunst of a display made up of a combination of real coppers and electrotype copies of real coins.³⁸ In addition, two zinc plates with full sets of electrotypes were produced, with some of the electrotypes made from higher quality coins (the 11½-G being one example) than the ones represented in the original Maris plate, as well as a new coin not appearing in the original photographic plate (the 83-ii).³⁸ These two zinc plates still exist - one residing in the New Jersey Historical Society collection and one in the private collection of William T. Anton, Jr.³⁸ (see Figure 4). It has been widely thought that the Maris "photograph" was taken from one of these zinc plates,³⁹ but a direct comparison of the "photograph" with the plates shows some obvious differences.³⁸ One hundred and fourteen varieties of New Jersey colonial coppers with the inscription "E PLURIBUS UNUM" on the reverse, as well as four counterfeits (one of these, the 82 variety later found to be a mint error 36-J) were categorized. Additionally, two Mark Newbie pieces, the Saint Patrick farthing and halfpenny, were also included since they represented the first coinage officially authorized for use in New Jersey.⁴⁰ In spite of the advertisement indicating 115-120 copies of the book being produced, Mr. Anton, Jr.⁴¹ states that only 35 copies were ordered from the printer, William K. Bellows, and some 50 copies were delivered. The book did not sell well and by 1886 Lyman H. Low advertised the sale of the remaining books for \$2.75 each.⁴²

Dr. Maris's book continues to be the authoritative reference on New Jersey colonial coins. In 1925 the Guttag Brothers published a 20 page booklet⁴³ with line drawings of the New Jersey copper varieties from Dr. Maris's photographic plate, as well as four additional varieties that had been discovered since 1881: 10-gg (listed as 10-ji), 21½-R, 23½-R (listed as 22½-R), and 83-ii. The purpose of the Guttag book was to place the New Jersey colonial identification guide into a format more easily handled than the cumbersome elephant folio of Dr. Maris. Additionally, in 1918, Ross⁴⁴ developed a rapid attribution guide for New Jersey colonials, but the lack of an inclusive photographic plate, as well as the difficulty in following the guide, limited the value of its use in

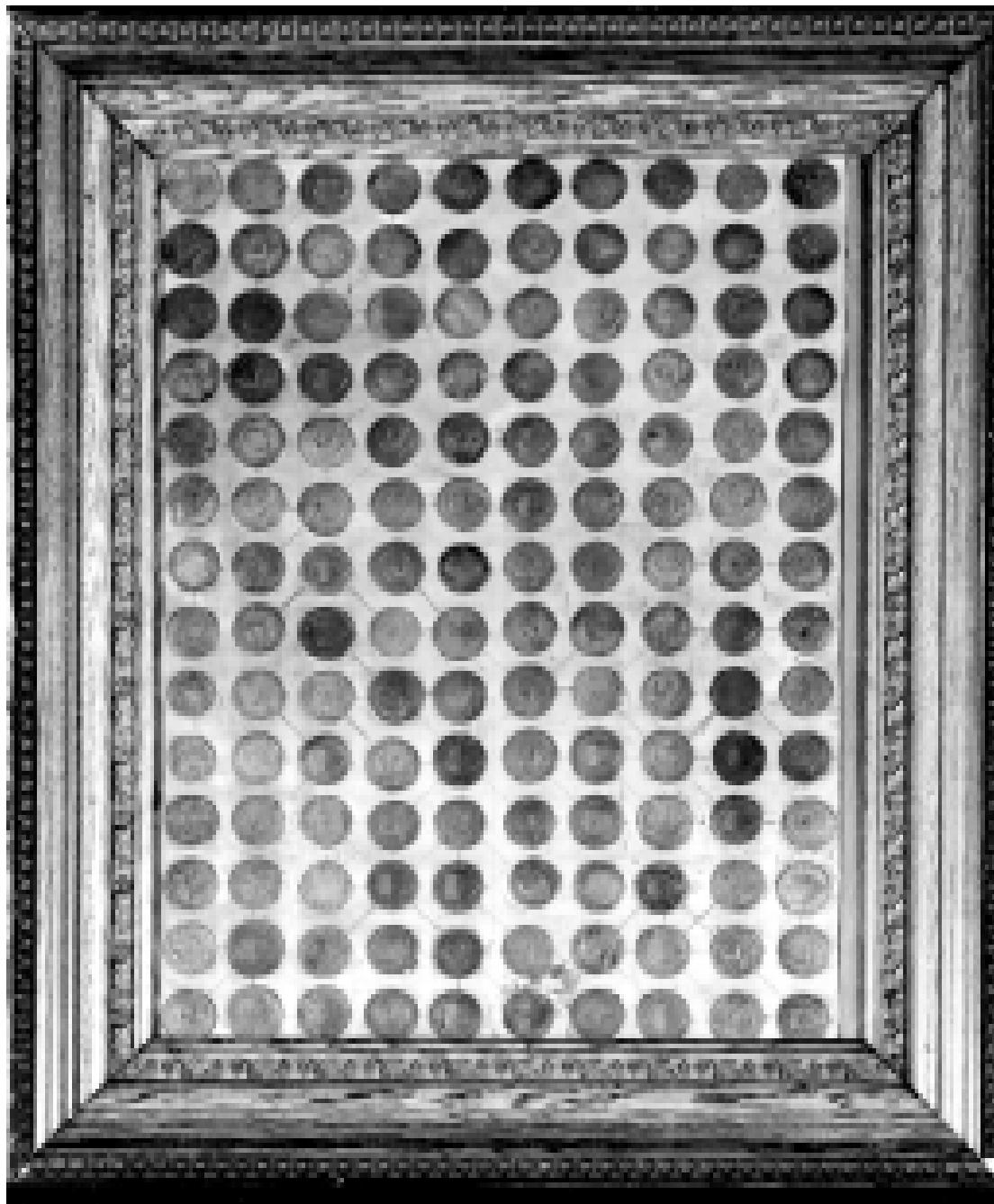


Figure 4

One of two known zinc plates holding electrotypes of New Jersey copper varieties that
Edward Maris, M.D. used to make the photographic plate for his classic book on
New Jersey copper coins.

With permission from the private collection of William T. Anton, Jr.

making attributions. The last hundred years have witnessed reprints of Dr. Maris's original work,^{45, 46, 47} modified reprints with an updating of the varieties,^{43, 48} and attempts to develop rapid attribution systems,^{49, 50} but no work has yet come close to challenging Dr. Maris's monograph as the single undisputed authority on New Jersey copper coins. Since its publication in 1881 only one of the varieties listed by Dr. Maris has been invalidated - the 82 which is described by Dr. Maris with the statement, "a small head and only part of the plow and legend can be seen. Both sides appear to have been struck from the same die." The difficulty in having provided a correct attribution for this coin is understandable. Recently, some question has also been raised as to the validity of separating varieties 77-dd and 78-dd, since they are just different die states struck from the same die.⁵¹ To date, additions to Dr. Maris's original list include 11 new varieties with an undescribed obverse (the 77½ is not included since it was not listed originally by Maris and is only a mid-die state between 77 and 78), three varieties with an undescribed reverse, four varieties with an undescribed obverse and reverse, and 11 new mulings of previously known obverses and reverses.⁵² [See Table 1.] Of these 29 new varieties 14 are rarity 9, nine are rarity 8, five are rarity 7 and only one is a rarity 6. This underlines what a remarkable job Dr. Maris performed in his extensive cataloging of New Jersey coppers under the constraints placed on him with limited communication capabilities and access to numismatic materials. Of interest by 1886 Dr. Maris had also described the 21-R and 83-ii varieties²⁹ and by 1890 the 4½-pp and 27-j varieties.⁵³

Table 1: New Jersey Copper Varieties with Rarity Ratings Discovered since Dr. Maris's Original Monograph

<u>Variety</u>	<u>Rarity</u>	<u>Variety</u>	<u>Rarity</u>
4½-pp	9	27-j	6
7-C	9	29½-L	9
8½-C	8	38-L	9
10-gg	8	42½-C	9
10-oo	9	47½-e	8
10½-C	9	48-X	7
11-hh	9	62-r	8
16-d	7	62½-r	9
16-S	9	64½-r	9
21-R	7	72½-aa	9
21½-R	8	73½-aa	8
23½-R	9	83-ii	7
24-l	8	84-kk	8
24-M	7	85-nn	9
26-d	8		

The bolded variety designations denote a die not described by Dr. Maris. Rarity estimates are taken from John Lorenzo's guide to New Jersey coinage (reference 52), except for variety 23½-R which William Anton, Jr. indicates is unique.

Dr. Maris's interest in New Jersey coppers continued after his monograph was published with articles appearing in the *American Journal of Numismatics* concerning counterfeit New Jersey cents⁵⁴ and a new *Immunis Columbia* mule with a die similar to a 1786 New Jersey copper.⁵⁵ However, by 1885 he had decided to sell his holdings of New Jersey colonials. He wished to sell his collection intact and on February 28, 1885, he wrote a confidential letter to T. Harrison Garrett offering "at private sale my celebrated collection of the coins of New Jersey," including all the pieces, except for eight, which were described in the 1881 folio.¹⁰ The offer was for \$1000, but the transaction never occurred. Instead, on 5/15/1886 Dr. Maris circulated a broadside (see Figure 5) indicating the coming auction of his coins by Stan V. Henkels, including his "entire collection of the coins of New Jersey." At 2 PM on 6/21/1886 Stan V. Henkels and Co. put Dr. Maris's collection of New Jersey coins on the block, as well as a choice selection of other rare colonial and federal issues. Fifty catalogs were printed containing six photographic plates "of pieces never before offered at public sale." The entire collection of New Jersey colonials from lot 350 through lot 501 was sold to Harold P. Newlin for \$551. Mr. Newlin was serving as an agent for T. Harrison Garrett.¹⁰

Though Dr. Maris will always be known for his works on the 1794 cent and New Jersey coppers, his numismatic interests were much broader. While still in the early stages of developing his New Jersey copper collection, Dr. Maris published a series of articles on the legends found on ancient Greek coinage.⁵⁶ Also, in his later years he dedicated himself to the collection of ancient and foreign coins, especially those relating to the Bible, as well as rare historic medals and early American currency.^{13, 57} Occasionally, Dr. Maris was asked to catalog auctions. For instance, he cataloged the New Jersey colonials in the sale of the Parmelee collection⁵⁸ which included two date under plow-beam varieties. In his cataloging of the Parmelee collection, new varieties of New Jersey coppers that were listed included a 4½-pp, 21-R, and 27-j. In 1893 Dr. Maris also cataloged the Mary Devlin collection for Henkels.⁵⁸ Astonishingly, the few New Jersey coppers offered in this auction were not attributed by Maris numbers.

After Dr. Maris's death on 6/13/1900, Chapman offered Dr. Maris's remaining collection of coins for sale, including one of the original zinc electrotype plates of New Jersey coins used to make the photograph in Dr. Maris's monograph.⁵⁹ The date of the sale was November 16-17, 1900.

THE REUNION

The centennial exhibition held in Philadelphia in 1876 celebrating the founding of the United States gave George L. Maris the idea of having a bicentennial celebration of the Maris family having come to America in 1683.⁷ Though George L. Maris initiated the idea of the bicentennial and subsequently wrote a book with Annie Maris about the celebration, as well as the Maris family genealogy, it was Dr. Edward Maris who was elected by the family to be president of the Maris family reunion organization. A circular announcing the planned reunion was sent out requesting the "active cooperation" of all Maris family members and for individuals "possessing old family relics, especially old Bibles containing *family records*" to bring them to the reunion.⁶⁰

After a great deal of planning, the bicentennial reunion of the Maris clan took place on August 25, 1883 at the site of the original Maris homestead in Springfield, Pennsylvania. The reunion was attended by over 2000 people and a description of the event was, "From every point vehicles, great and small, freighted with young and old, grave and gay, filed into the well-chosen grounds and deposited their passengers midst the welcoming throng . . ."⁷ The reunion was held behind the old farm on four acres of land within the woods next to Darby Creek. A 30 by 10 foot platform was constructed with seats for a large audience. The day was filled with speeches, picnicking, and "merry laughter." Of interest Dr. Maris had medals produced commemorating the reunion. According to eyewitness reports, "a large tent . . . was erected outside the grove, where bronze

CIRCULAR.

Having decided to dispose of the Colonial, United States and Pattern sections of my collection of Coins, I propose offering them for sale, at the auction house of STAN. V. HENKELS, in this city, about the latter part of Sixth Month (June) next.

The most important of the Colonials will comprise my entire collection of the coins of New Jersey. This will include specimens, or copies of all known New Jerseys, of undoubted genuineness, together with some counterfeits of that period. Also, those which were struck over the Connecticut, Vermont, Nova Constellatio, English, Irish and French Coppers; one in brass; one in a mixed metal; one with a small piece of silver in the plow handle; and many other pieces showing fracture of the dies. A considerable number, as far as I have been able to ascertain, are not in any other collection. Many are not surpassed, if equalled in condition, and many have never before been catalogued in a coin sale. They are the outcome of many years of labor in collecting, and contain, with the exception of two pieces, the choice of the cabinets of Mickley, Dickeson, Betts and Bushnell. Also, most of the best pieces coming into the hands of several of the dealers for a number of years.

The Colonials include a silver Franklin, without date or legend, supposed unique; silver *Inimunis Columbia*, 1785; fine set of *Rosa Americanas*; Lord Baltimore Six Pence; fine Vermonts of 1785; Massachusetts, etc.

Several fine Washington pieces will be in the sale.

Many of the early issues of the Mint, in gold, silver and copper, will be found in a beautiful state of preservation, as well as others of later date. Of these, I have not been so careful to collect coins of every date, as to secure representatives of decided changes, whether of obverse, reverse, or both.

The collection of Patterns embrace a large number of pieces, hitherto unknown to collectors generally, as well as others of recognized rarity and interest.

Six plates will be prepared, three of which will represent coins never before offered at public auction. A limited number of catalogues, containing these plates, may be obtained at two dollars each; and after the sale printed prices will be furnished to parties having the plates. As I have to make frequent references to the plates in my work on the "Coins of New Jersey," I may state that parties desiring this work can be furnished by dealers at \$4 a copy, or the plates alone for \$1.25.

Catalogues are expected to be ready in two or three weeks.

Very respectfully, E. MARIS.

PHILADELPHIA, 5th month (May), 15th, 1886..

Figure 5

Broadside used by Edward Maris M.D. to advertise the sale of his coin collection by Stan Henkels in 1886.

From the private collection of Roger Moore.

medals bearing a correct *fac simile* of the family coat of arms, together with a traditional inscription were sold to hundreds of eager purchasers.”⁷

Though the descriptions of the reunion are fascinating, the medals minted to commemorate this occasion are of special interest since their striking was commissioned by Dr. Maris. In fact the circular announcing the planned reunion,⁶⁰ includes an advertisement that a “beautiful bronze medal commemorating the bicentennial anniversary, will be issued, at the expense of 75 cts each” and advance orders were requested by Dr. Maris so that he would “know how many will probably be needed.” Of interest, medals in silver could be ordered at a cost of \$2.00 and gold for \$25.00. An example of the bronze medal is shown in Figure 6. The medal is well described by Robert W. Julian in his book, *Medals of the United States Mint - The First Century*.⁶¹ Its obverse inscriptions - ESSE QUAM VIDERE and SE DEUS NOBISCUM QVIS CONTRA NOS - which mean “to be

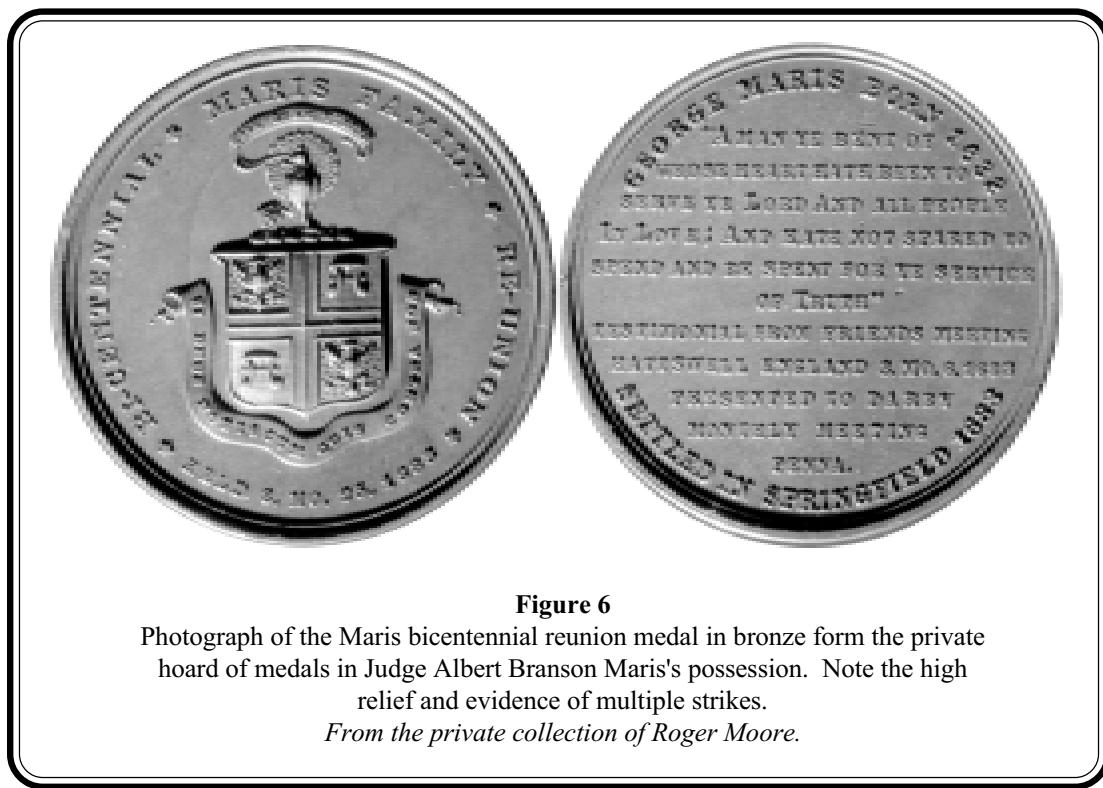


Figure 6

Photograph of the Maris bicentennial reunion medal in bronze form the private hoard of medals in Judge Albert Branson Maris's possession. Note the high relief and evidence of multiple strikes.

From the private collection of Roger Moore.

rather than to seem” and “if God is with us who can be against us,” seem very appropriate for a family with a strong work ethic and solid religious roots. The obverse of the medal also contains the family coat of arms. According to Philadelphia Mint records of October 27, 1883, “Cash rec’d of Edward Maris, M.D. for two gold and striking one aluminum Maris Bi-Centennial Medal ... \$56.00.”⁶² Mr. Julian indicates that bronze medals were struck but not at the Philadelphia mint.⁶¹ However, he also states that due to an absence of correspondence between Dr. Maris and the Mint, as well as the presence of personal entries in the mint’s medal ledger by Dr. Maris, that Dr. Maris “conducted his business at the Mint in person.”⁶² Official Mint records do not exist indicating the minting of the bronze medals, but it is possible that a few hundred bronze medals were struck for Dr. Maris unofficially, as well as medals in other metal types. William Anton, Jr. considers the high relief of the medals an indication that high pressure strikes were necessary which could only have been performed using Mint presses.³⁸ In any case since “hundreds of bronze medals” were

sold at the reunion, a significant supply must have been minted prior to the reunion on 8/25/1883. As indicated, the gold and aluminum medals were paid for on 10/27/1883 - two months after the reunion. These medals in the more expensive metals may have been an afterthought, when the reunion turned out to be so successful. It is known from the well documented adventure of Mark Auerbach, Bruce Kesse, and William Anton, Jr. in their search for a photograph of Dr. Edward Maris, that the medal exists in a variety of metals.^{2,3} On 11/16/1988 these gentlemen met with the only living direct descendant of Dr. Maris who personally knew him - Senior Circuit Judge Albert Branson Maris of the United States Court of Appeals for the Third District⁶³ - in his chambers located across the street from the Liberty Bell. They were astounded by not only finding a photograph of Dr. Maris hanging on the chamber's wall, but also a cache of the reunion medals in the Judge's office safe. The reunion medals were "all jumbled together, loose and rubbing" in a metal cigar box.³⁸ Though Dr. Maris died when the Judge was only six years old, he still had memories of Dr. Maris,⁶⁴ and evidently received the box of reunion medals directly from Dr. Maris as a gift.³⁸ The cigar box contained one gold, one silver, one "white metal," one aluminum, two pewter, and six coppered bronze medals. Mark Auerbach returned for a second meeting with the judge at a later date and obtained the measurements provided in Table 2.

Table 2: Maris Reunion Medal Measurement Data

<u>Metal</u>	<u>Weight</u>	<u>Diameter</u>	<u>Thickness</u>
Gold	33.3 grams	38 mm	2.1 mm
Silver	27.6 grams	38 mm	3.0 mm
"White Metal"	19.5 grams	38 mm	3.5 mm
Aluminum	6.45 grams	38 mm	3.0 mm
Pewter	34.7 grams	38 mm	3.9 mm
Pewter	39.9 grams	38 mm	4.1 mm
Bronze	30.6 grams	38 mm	4.0 mm

Data obtained by Mark S. Auerbach on medals in the possession of Judge Albert Branson Maris.

Considering that "hundreds" of the medals were sold, they are not rare, but they do appear in auctions only infrequently. The Bowers and Merena auction of the Dreyfuss collection included both a bronze and silver medal,⁶⁵ while the Charles Davis sale had a single bronze medal.⁶⁶ More recently, a bronze medal was auctioned by Charles Kirtley in his 131st sale.⁶⁷ After an extensive search, including the telephoning of living Maris family relatives, and a review of auction catalogs, the present existence of only ten medals has been confirmed.³⁸

THE MAN

Accurately assessing the inner workings of any man is difficult under the best of circumstances, and it becomes exponentially harder when the primary source material in the evaluation is derived from obituaries. However, for Dr. Maris we are lucky in having a compact description written while he was still living, provided by Augustus G. Heaton.⁶⁸ Mr. Heaton states, Dr. Maris "is now rather

advanced in age and occupies a plain, commodious dwelling in the lower part of the city (Philadelphia) which bears simply his name on a doorplate. The genial doctor is one of the kindest and most conscientious of men. He is rather tall and spare, has a prominent nose and a face of generally strong character, clean shaven, except short whiskers. The Friends language is used with a winning voice and altogether one, in meeting him, reveres the moral strength which must have been exercised by such a man as a coin dealer." From this short description we can surmise Dr. Maris was a man of simple tastes, with a friendly and kind disposition, and a conscientious attitude. Honesty and integrity are also characteristics since he held the trust of his colleagues when cataloging their coins.

Though Charles Davis interprets some of Dr. Maris's actions as those of a competitive, jealous individual who out of spite wrote "a bitter review, one dripping with sour grapes" concerning another numismatist's work, this viewpoint is countered by a different interpretation of the data, as provided earlier in this paper. That is not to say that numismatic rivalry did not exist between Dr. Maris and Mr. Crosby, but rather that any such rivalry was of minimal importance in how Dr. Maris conducted himself. The description of Dr. Maris as an individual whose "readiness to respond to all inquirers and his genial courtesy ... won the friendship of many who never grasped his hand,"¹³ is not that of a hateful, jealous man. Finally in the obituary published in *The Numismatist*, Dr. Maris is described as "a worthy member of the Society of Friends and wore the broad brimmed hat and quiet attire of the Quakers throughout his life. He also adhered in conversation and correspondence to the "thee" and "thou" of his sect. A prominent Roman nose and generally strong features of his shaven face showed the firmness of his devotion to principle during his long career, but a genial kindly expression and manner equally manifested his goodness of heart."⁵⁷

Therefore, the adjectives best describing Dr. Edward Maris from the sources available are honest, simple, devoted, devout, principled, genial, and kind. Our mental portrait is also incomplete without mentioning his volunteer involvements. He was an active member of the Society of Friends, served as an overseer of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, was appointed to the library committee,⁶⁹ and acted as a manager of the Friends Select School. Also, he was active in the Friends Indian Committee and evidently was for a time in charge of a reservation in New York State.⁵⁷ We know that in November 1877 that he lived at 127 South 5th Street in Philadelphia³⁴ and by July 1879 he had moved 1½ blocks to 526 Spruce Street. By January 1881 he had moved another seven blocks to his final home at 1106 Pine Street.³⁵ On June 13, 1900 after a short illness, he died at his home. He was buried in Friends Southwestern Burial Ground on June 16, 1900 in lot 131, section B.⁷⁰ A photograph of Dr. Edward Maris's simple gravestone is shown in Figure 7.

CNL

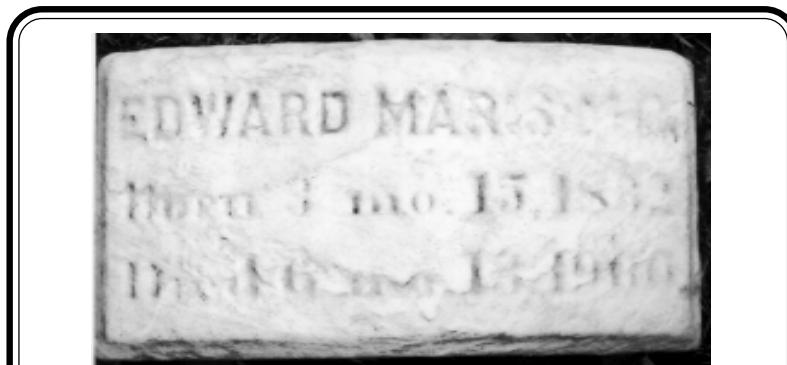


Figure 7

Photograph of the burial stone of Edward Maris M.D. located at the Friends Southwestern Burial Ground, Philadelphia, PA.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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**PAUL REVERE:
A COLONIAL JACK OF ALL TRADES**
by
Philip L. Mossman, M.D.; Hampden, ME

(TN-177)

At least in my generation, Paul Revere was held in high esteem by Massachusetts school children not only as a hero of the Revolution but because he was responsible in part for the observation of April 19th as a state holiday.¹ I vividly recall as a fourth grader memorizing Longfellow's immortal poem which begins,

*Listen my children and you shall hear
Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere,
On the eighteenth of April, in seventy-five;
Hardly a man is now alive
Who remembers that famous day and year.²*

It was particularly exciting for me as a child, living in the Greater Boston area, to recognize the familiar landmarks mentioned in that epic; those events of 1775 came alive and were not just some abstract recitation enforced upon us to satisfy our teacher's fancy. Our family frequently visited the battlegrounds of Lexington and Concord, historic shrines which my father delighted in showing off to our visiting English relatives as the place where the British "lobsterbacks" got their first comeuppance! Although I'm quite a bit older now and a resident of the only other state that celebrates Patriots' Day, my interest in this famous American was renewed recently because of a serendipitous discovery concerning Revere's participation in our local Maine history when we were still a district of Massachusetts.

We live in a small town bordering the navigable segment of the Penobscot River between Bangor and the ocean. That stretch of river was the site of the most devastating American naval defeat of the Revolution.³ Hardly an event about which to boast, but one that still interests historians. It seems that on June 17, 1779, three years into the war, the British captured, without opposition, the strategically placed coastal town of Castine, a community that had already been under four flags – French, Dutch, American, and now again English.⁴ From this crucial outpost, the English could intercept American attacks on the Maritimes while at the same time raid Massachusetts shores and provide a friendly haven for displaced Loyalists. The Americans, on the other hand, who wanted the British removed from their back yard for those very same reasons, quickly assembled an ill-equipped fleet of 45 vessels to displace the enemy. This miscellaneous armada, which included 21 war ships and 24 transports with over 2000 men, a force six times greater than the defending British, arrived in Penobscot Bay on July 24, 1779. If the colonials had struck immediately on arrival, they could have easily overpowered the British garrison in the town's unfinished fort and their three sloops riding at anchor in the harbor. Although a few skirmishes ensued, for reasons yet unclear, the expedition's commander, Commodore Dudley Saltonstall

¹ I would like to thank Eric P. Newman for his critical review and assistance with this article.

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⁴ It was under French occupation that the famous Castine Hoard was presumed hidden no later than 1704.

procrastinated for twenty-one days refusing to risk his ships in an engagement with the enemy fleet, although the odds were greatly in his favor. At length, when the British naval reinforcements arrived, the American fleet lifted their blockade and ran up the Penobscot River as far as Bangor. All along the river, this once proud fleet was either scuttled by their crews, captured, or destroyed by enemy fire. The surviving colonial forces fled through the woods and eventually returned to Boston. Artifacts, especially cannons, from the sunken hulks are still being recovered from the muddy river bottom.

The officer in charge of the artillery of this ill-fated Penobscot Expedition was Lt. Colonel Paul Revere of the Provincial Militia. This disaster had just about depleted the state's treasury; many Massachusetts privateers and other resources, human and otherwise, had been sacrificed for nothing. It was apparent that the blame for this failed campaign, upon which so much had been expected, had to be placed somewhere. An investigation launched by the Massachusetts General Court resulted in the courts-martial of both Saltonstall and Revere. Saltonstall was cashiered from the navy on the charge of cowardice and was denied any future government service. Revere, wrongly accused of disobedience and unsoldierlike behavior, insisted on his innocence and was eventually exonerated.

As I read about Revere's role in the Penobscot Expedition, other facts about his life, gleaned from various biographies and original sources, sparked my interest to pursue this study further.⁵ It was apparent that he was a very skilled artisan of many talents, several of which related to early American currency. Lest I get too far ahead of myself, I should return to the beginning of the story.

Paul's father, Apollos Rivoire, escaping Huguenot persecution in France, arrived in Boston sometime in late 1715, or early the following year, to become apprenticed to John Coney (1655-1722), a respected silversmith, of which there were some 32 working in Boston at that time. Since most goldsmiths worked primarily in silver, the distinction between goldsmith and silversmith was nebulous. Young Rivoire's master was the engraver of the Massachusetts paper currency issued from 1702 to 1710⁶, and based on its similarity in design to the emission of 1690, it has been proposed that he may even have been responsible for the very first paper money in British North America.⁷ The young immigrant became quickly "Americanized," changed his name to Paul Revere, married into an established Boston family in 1729, and by the following year had established his own business. Silversmiths were kept busy, not solely for the sake of making trinkets and decorative utensils *per se*, but rather they were engaged in transforming the accumulated wealth of Boston families into useful silver objects which formed "the principal reserve capital in thrifty households" since there were no banks, "the stock market was embryonic and shaky," and mercantile ventures were risky at best.⁸

Young Paul, the Revere's second child, was born in 1735, and after receiving a basic education, followed his father's craft. This apprenticeship was temporarily interrupted in 1756 by his service

⁵ Two excellent Revere biographies are, Elbridge Henry Goss, *The Life of Colonel Paul Revere* (Boston, 1891) and Esther Forbes, *Paul Revere & the World He Lived In* (Boston, 1942).

⁶ Eric P. Newman, *The Early Paper Money of America* (Iola, WI, 1990) 3rd ed. pp. 159-62.

⁷ George L. McKay, *Early American Currency*, NNM #104, The American Numismatic Society (New York, 1944) frontispiece, p. 58. McKay contended that it was not an unreasonable assumption that the first Massachusetts issue of December 10, 1690 was also engraved by Coney since it shared similar features with the 1702, 1708, and 1710 emissions which were definitely his work. Newman feels that too many differences exist between the 1690 and later emissions to conclude that Coney did them both (personal communication, March 31, 1997). These 1690 notes, whoever their author, may represent the first copperplate engraving done in British North America.

⁸ Forbes, p. 10.



Unhappy Britain! See the Troops in place,
The Infamy! Who's informed with martial's laws
With Hatchets? — or who's had time to dress
With sand from Narragansett? But mark
Like these that have no position before the
Oppressor the Colonists, who's to be had!

What long days have I seen! — From England I bring
The British Museum engraving block from August 1775.
What a scene! — What a day! — What a crowd!
What a scene! — What a day! — What a crowd!
The British Museum engraving block from August 1775.
What a scene! — What a day! — What a crowd!
The British Museum engraving block from August 1775.
What a scene! — What a day! — What a crowd!

The engraving block is now in the August 1775 Museum of the Colonial Currency Association, Boston, and is on display at the Boston Public Library.

This is Revere's most famous engraving, done at a time when anti-British sentiment was escalating. Due to a shortage of copper plates for engraving the issues of July 8, 1775, Revere used the reverse of this plate for the 10, 12 and 18 shillings notes. (See Newman, p. 181).

Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.

in the French and Indian War as a second lieutenant in the artillery. On his return to civilian life, his career continued and soon he was recognized as a very able silversmith. He diversified his talents in 1768 and branched off into dentistry, filling gaping spaces in Boston's finest mouths with artificial teeth carved from hippopotamus tusks or animal teeth and secured to their neighbors with a variety of gold or silver wires. As one might expect, Revere, an active Mason, involved himself in the politics of the period and became closely associated with other members of the secret "Sons of Liberty." He engraved a number of copperplates which depicted the somber mood of the pre-

Revolutionary times, his most famous being that of the Boston Massacre of 1770. The situation was going from bad to worse. Although Parliament had voted to abolish all the oppressive colonial taxes imposed under the Townshend Act, except that on tea, the Bostonians were not placated and thus a party of "Mohawks" jettisoned £18,000 of East India Company tea into the harbor on December 16, 1773. Paul Revere, acting as a courier for the Committee of Correspondence, a group whose purpose was to maintain good lines of intercolonial communication, was dispatched posthaste to New York and Philadelphia to inform them of the gathering unrest in Boston and to enlist their approval. From this first recorded ride by Revere, averaging the astonishing distance of 63 miles a day, he returned to Boston with the good news that the other colonies supported Massachusetts in its defiant actions. He made four similar trips during the following year.

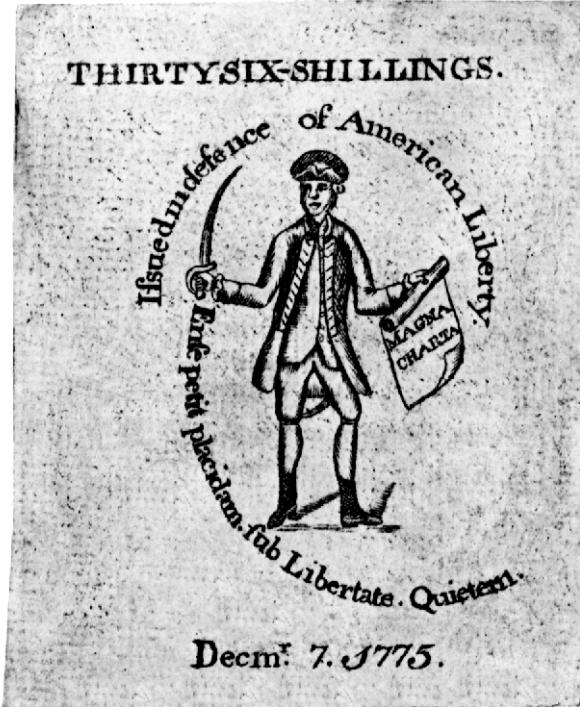
In retaliation for the Boston Tea Party, Parliament closed the Port of Boston and placed the city under military rule until the citizens saw fit to indemnify the East India Company for their loss. The other colonies rose to aid Boston, convening the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia in the fall of 1774. Informed by spies that the colonists had a cache of munitions in Concord, General Gage planned an preemptive maneuver to capture these supplies. Aware that trouble was brewing, Revere rode to Lexington on April 16, 1775, to warn the fugitives John Hancock and Samuel Adams hiding there from the British, to seek asylum elsewhere. On his return to Boston, it was evident that the British were preparing to march, and Revere, the seasoned dispatch rider, along with William Dawes, prepared to ride at night to Lexington and Concord with a warning to the local militia about the impending strike. Contrary to Longfellow's narrative poem, it was Revere who arranged the lantern signals in the church tower, "one if by land and two if by sea," to apprise the patriots on the river shore opposite Boston as to the movement of the British troops. Dawes took the land route while Revere crossed the Charles River, under the nose of British warships, to Charlestown where his compatriots supplied him with a fast horse. He made his way, after one detour, to Lexington, where he was detained by a British patrol who confiscated his steed, forcing him to continue on foot. The alarm was spread to Concord by Dr. Samuel Prescott, whom they had met en route. The next day, April 19th, the colonial militia and British regulars engaged in battle and the Revolution was now off and running.

Boston was essentially under a state of siege, and since freedom of movement in and out of the city was seriously curtailed, the patriots, fearing for their own safety, moved the [Massachusetts] Provincial Congress seven miles up the Charles River to the safety of Watertown. "There was nothing Massachusetts needed more for her disorderly army than money"⁹ and this obliged the Provincial Congress to authorize the issue of £100,000 in 6% interest bearing circulating notes. The responsibility for the preparation of this new paper money was delegated to the versatile Revere, who, as an expert silversmith not only engraved the copperplates, but also made the press on which the money was printed.¹⁰ These notes were printed in quarters rented in the John Cook residence in Watertown where Revere's press and equipment were under constant military guard to prevent unauthorized use. From this secure location, Revere produced his famous "sword in hand" and "cod fish" bills.¹¹ It was not an easy task since good paper was scarce and expensive and new copperplates were indeed a rarity. The latter shortage obliged Revere to recycle certain of his old engraved plates. On each reverse side he now etched a group of his new Massachusetts notes; the July 8, 1775 issues were on the reverse sides of his depiction of the "Boston Massacre" and the portrait of Rev. Smauel Willard. The November 17, 1776 "sword in hand" plate was engraved on the other side of his "A View of Part of the Town of Boston." It is claimed by some

⁹ Forbes, p. 288.

¹⁰ Goss, p. 412.

¹¹ See Newman, pp. 180-188.



A 36 shillings note (reverse) of Paul Revere's famous "sword in hand" emission of December 7, 1775. (See Newman, p. 183.)

church silver. In 1783, he set himself up in a hardware business whose success apparently encouraged him to expand in 1792 and construct a foundry where, over the years, upwards of 400 church bells were cast.¹⁵ Still an artilleryman at heart, he cast several cannon for the government in 1794.¹⁶ He gradually expanded his industrial capacity into manufacturing copper into nautical hardware which outfitted the *USS Constitution*. He diversified further into the new industrial venture of cold rolling imported copper in a mill he built in 1801, the only such operation in the United States. Copper plate from this new mill covered the state house dome and sheathed the hull of the *Constitution* and other warships. Of this process, he recorded that he needed to buy his rollers from England "as he could not get them here 'in such perfection as the English ones, neither are they so good.'"¹⁷ Any numismatist familiar with the surface condition of state coppers can attest to the irregularities on the domestic rollers used here for processing those planchets.

biographers that Revere engraved the plates for the Continental Currency of May 10, 1775,¹² but this is in error since those bills were type set within borders cut by David Rittenhouse and printed in Philadelphia.¹³

After the British evacuated Boston, Revere continued his contribution to the war effort. He was placed in charge of the defense of Boston Harbor at Castle William and established a gun powder factory for the Continental Army. Whether Revere actually made powder himself or just supervised its operation is unknown.¹⁴ In 1777, Revere was assigned the related task of overseeing the casting of cannons at the state facility in Bridgewater. It is at this point of our story that the Penobscot Expedition is inserted.

After the war, Revere continued his work as a silversmith with a great variety of objects attributed to him, particularly picture frames, tea and coffee sets, serving utensils and

¹² Goss, pp. 424-27; Forbes, pp. 288.

¹³ Eric P. Newman, personal communication, March 23, 1997; see Newman, p. 38.

¹⁴ Forbes, pp. 301-4.

¹⁵ Forbes, pp. 386-91.

¹⁶ Goss, p. 541-42.

¹⁷ Goss, p. 506.

It is evident that Revere, a metallurgist skilled in silver, gold, iron and copper, was well read in his field and familiar with the contemporaneous series, *Chemical Essays*, by Richard Watson, a Professor at the University of Cambridge and Bishop of Landsaff. Revere disagreed with a passage in this book where Watson described in detail the Continental Currency of 1776 struck in pewter.¹⁸ Revere contended that he had investigated this subject and to his satisfaction was convinced that such a coin never existed and maintained that the Bishop had been given false information.¹⁹

Boston

N England Feb^y 21 1790

Reverend Sir,

In perusing your invaluable Chemical Essays Vol 4 page 136, you make mention of pewter money coined by the American Congress, and give a description of it. The very great pleasure which I have received from the perusal of those Volumes, and the exceeding good character I have heard of you, from some of your Countrymen, as a *Man*, and for fear that some person of more consequence, has not endeavored to set you right in that piece of History; I have inclosed [*sic*] you two pieces of money, one of them was printed under the direction of the American Congress, the other I am not so fully assured off [*sic*]; as they both answer to your description, except the metall [*sic*], I have sent them, supposing, if you were not possessed of them, they might be acceptable to you as curiosities. As for pewter money, struck in America, I never saw any. I have made careful inquiry, and have all the reason in the world to believe, that you were imposed upon by those who informed you.

I am Sir with respect & esteem
Your most humble servant
Paul Revere

The Reverend R. Watson.
Bishop of Landaff.

This letter taken at its face value would indicate that Revere, a businessman and former dispatch rider who had traveled frequently between Boston and Philadelphia prior to 1776, was unfamiliar with Continental Dollars. His lack of awareness notwithstanding, these coins obviously existed but apparently knowledge of them did not extend into the Boston area. [This may be a parallel scenario to Thomas Jefferson where he claimed that halfpence did not circulate in Virginia even though Virginia had minted its own.²⁰] In regard to the "two pieces of money" presented by Revere to the Bishop, the printed one was obviously from the February 17, 1776 Continental Currency fractional issues,²¹ while the other, with a similar design, must have been a Fugio copper. It was also interesting that Revere knew so little about the Fugios but was trying to be helpful to Watson.²²

¹⁸ The full text of Watson's statement is found in Eric P. Newman, "The 1776 Continental Currency," *The Coin Collector's Journal*, July-August 1952, p. 4, 4n. An abbreviated form is in Sylvester S. Crosby, *Early Coins of America* (Boston, 1875), pp. 305-6.

¹⁹ Goss, p. 534.

²⁰ "In Virginia, coppers have never been in use." *American State Papers, Class 3, Finance* (Washington, 1832) vol. 1, p. 106.

²¹ See Newman, p.40.

²² Newman, personal communication, March 31, 1997.

Another interesting numismatic reference concerning Paul Revere was provided by William S. Appleton at the April 1870 meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society where the presenter described the unique 1776 Massachusetts Pine Tree Copper.

In 1776, two or three pieces were prepared as patterns for a proposed coinage of copper for the State of Massachusetts. One of them in my collection ... is thus described: MASSACHUSETTS STATE; a pine-tree, and in the field characters resembling 1 CLM, conjectured to mean "one cent lawful money." Reverse: LIBERTY AND VIRTUE; in exergue 1776; the Goddess of Liberty, sitting on a globe, facing the left, holding in her right hand a liberty-cap, with her left supporting herself by a long spear; at her feet is a small animal. Copper, size 20. Nothing is known as to its origin, but it has naturally been said to be the work of Paul Revere: it is considered to be unique.²³

In further speculation about this coin, Appleton added, "Revere is one of the few persons of the time considered competent to have done such work, as far as we know."²⁴

Although it took him three years to clear his name after the scandal of the Penobscot Expedition, he was able to take up life again with an untarnished reputation. Truly a jack of all trades, silversmith, prosthodontist, patriot, and in his later life industrialist, he now turned to public service with his appointment as the Suffolk County coroner in 1796 and in 1798 became an incorporator of the Massachusetts Mutual Fire Insurance Company.²⁵ He remained politically active and worked diligently to secure the ratification of the Constitution of 1787. Revere died in 1818, a folk hero in his own time. The citizens of Massachusetts further honored him posthumously in 1871 when they changed the name of the town of North Chelsea, incorporated in 1848, to Revere. I could not help but compare him to Abel Buell, Thomas Machin and Benjamin Franklin, and other skilled artisans of his time whose diverse talents also enrich the study of early American coinage and paper money and still provide mysteries for us latter-day numismatists to unravel. 

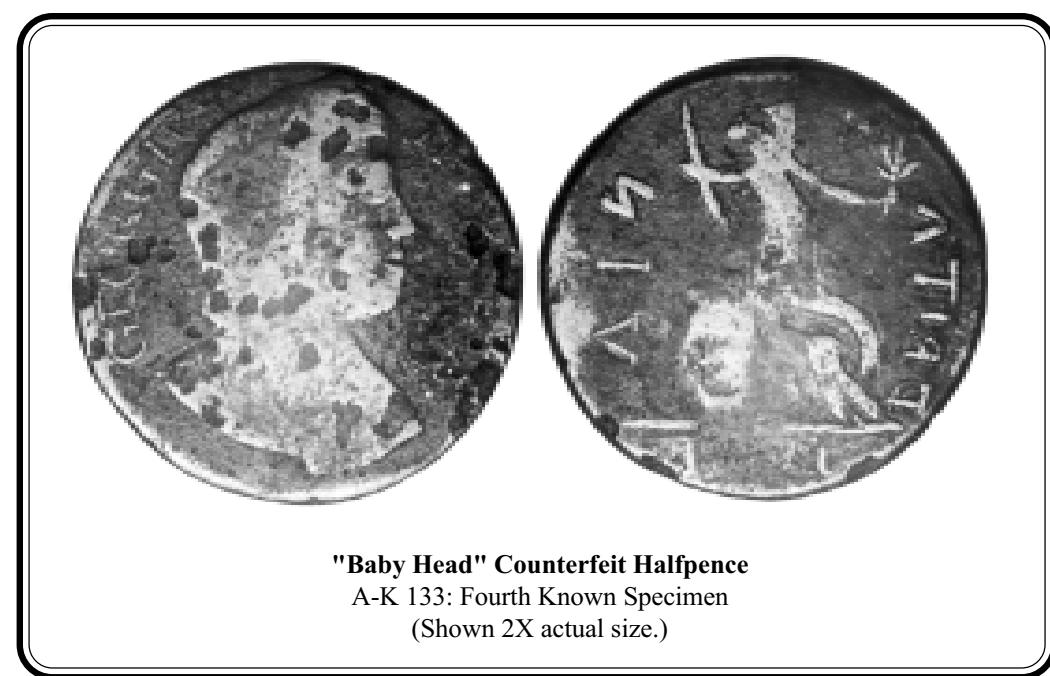
²³ *Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings*, Vol. 11, April 1870, p. 294.

²⁴ Goss, p. 447; Jan. 20, 1886 letter.

²⁵ Goss, pp. 589-90.

**Another Example of the
"Baby Head" Counterfeit Halfpenny**
by
Dennis P. Wierzba, New Providence, NJ

(TN-86A)



In *CNL* Volume 18, Number 2, p. 686 (TN-86), patron William Anton, Jr. published the discovery piece of this naive counterfeit which he believed to be of American origin. In the book, *Forgotten Coins of the North American Colonies* by William Anton, Jr. and Bruce Kesse, this counterfeit is identified as A-K 133, the "Baby Head" variety. The text states that there are only three known. This specimen, the fourth known, weighs 138.9 grains and measures 28.2 by 28.7mm. I purchased the counterfeit from colonial coin specialist Tom Rinaldo. He, in turn, was consigned the copper by a NJ coin dealer who found it in an assortment of coins.

In the Bowers and Merena Rusbar Sale (9/90), patron Mike Hodder devoted a full page to lot 1739 to describe this circulating counterfeit. He noted that the obverse letters were hand-cut into the die, the reverse (done by a different engraver, he believes) has BRITANNIA and the liberty figure in retrograde, while the date, 1771, is correct. He has also noted that the planchet may be cast and has square edges (unlike the state coinages). The quality of the reverse engraving is truly naive, bordering on child-like. The Rusbar specimen was from Abe Kosoff's personal reference collection. *CNL* readers are urged to read the Rusbar description to better understand and enjoy this American* counterfeit.

* **Editor's comment:** The first reference to this "Baby head" appeared in *CNL* as indicated in the above commentary. At that time, when ye editor reported Bill Anton's finding as being "of Possible American Origin," an assumption based solely on its crude appearance, he also requested any additional information

on those or similar pieces. We thank Dennis for his current report describing what is now the fourth known specimen of this rarity.

While it is very tempting to attribute any primitive appearing coin to a British North American provenance, it is a very complex task to prove this association. This problem was very eloquently addressed by Byron K. Weston in *CNL*, TN-161, pp. 1465 to 1468, and I can't substantially add to that presentation. I personally support his recommendation for use of the term "anonymous counterfeit" since it defines the situation perfectly for these roughly fashioned coppers from Lord knows where; that label should remain attached until such time when a definite source can be verified.

Although "anonymous" infers uncertainty regarding provenance, I am certain that these crude, rare pieces as well as all other counterfeits of proven origin, were a legitimate colonial copper coinage. Lest anyone think otherwise, these counterfeit coppers, "anonymous" or not, are among my favorite coins and I can relate to Dennis' enthusiasm to report his new acquisition. **PLM**

On the Measurement of Die Rotations

(TN-165A; TN-171A)

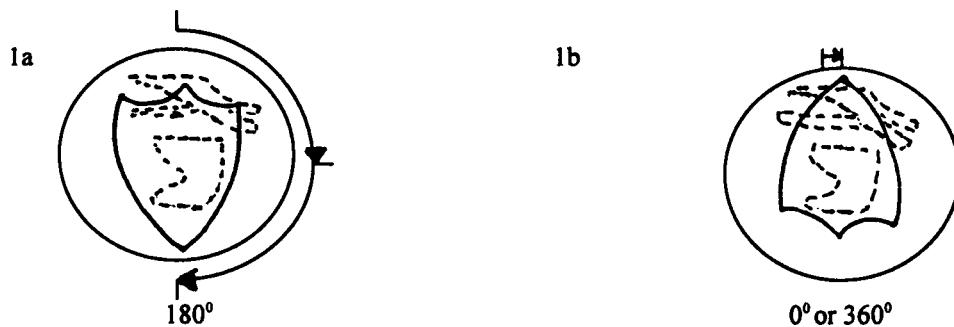
Centuries ago, when the earth was still flat, courageous explorers ignored conventional wisdom and proved that you could go east by sailing west; the corollary was also true, you could arrive in the west by sailing east. Since the world and most coins are both round, geography and numismatics have a common plane geometry. Although Columbus, Magellan, and others could discredit their opposition, a similar argument remains alive and well in modern numismatics regarding die rotations. Whereas all numismatists can agree as to what needs to be measured, the question persists, do you get where you want to go by proceeding in a clockwise or counterclockwise direction?

Recent opinions on this subject have been printed in the *CNL* by Roger Moore (pp 1495 - 98) and Charles (Skip) Smith (pp. 1646-47 and 1665-68). The important thing is not that they disagree, but that they are seeking to develop a standard which will be useful for everyone. Roger responded to Skip's article, which, together with Skip's reply, is printed below. This correspondance was submitted to the editors for their comments and the input from Mike Hodder and Jim Spilman follows. **PLM**

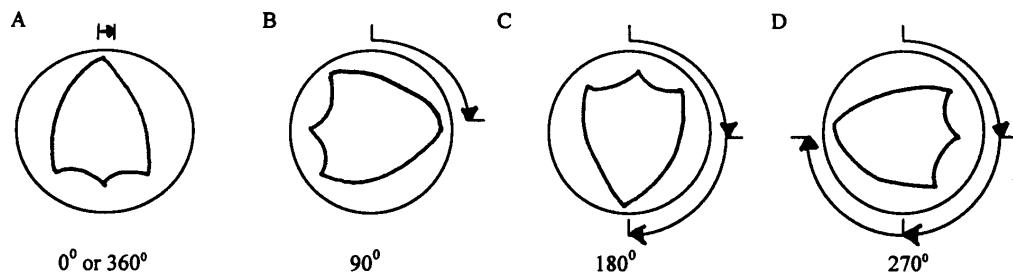
Letter to the Editor from Roger Moore (3/18/97)

Dear Editor,

I read with interest Dr. Smith's recent article in *CNL* 104, "An Error Sampler ..." He has done a wonderful job putting some sense into the complex evaluation of colonial coins having minting errors. However, I would ask that he reconsider the method he uses in evaluating die axis information. In particular he indicates that in performing the axis evaluation that he first holds the coin so the obverse is in proper orientation and then turns the coin 180° around the horizontal axis (the top of the coin is pulled forward while the coin is held on the left and right sides). Based on this turn, the obverse would be upside down, if one could look through the coin. When the coin has a "coin strike" (the reverse oriented 180° in relationship to the obverse), the reverse would be oriented right side up, and in the "medal strike", it would be upside down. Convention allows us to call the axis in the "coin strike" example to be 180° (see Figure 1a) and in the "medal strike" example, as 0° or 360° (see Figure 1b).



Difficulty arises when the rotation is off the perfect "coin" or "medal" strike orientation. In this case a determination of whether to use a counterclockwise or a clockwise evaluation of the rotation must be made. In the best of all worlds, a consistent convention would be agreed upon; but considering our present world, it is amazing there are not far more choices than only counterclockwise and clockwise. Both conventions have been used, but the preferred convention for colonial coins has been the clockwise mode (see *CNL* April 1995, pp. 1495-1499). This is not a small matter since interpretation of die rotational states, if not accompanied in every case with an explanation of the methodology used to determine the rotation, will lead to inaccurate and misleading conclusions when trying to combine data from different sources. I would propose that a clockwise evaluation of the rotational data be used consistently by colonial collectors or alternatively every axis evaluation listed in catalogs or in papers specify the convention used. Therefore, an evaluation of a coin's axis should be performed as below, with the measurement taken from the bottom of the obverse around the coin in a clockwise direction to the bottom of the reverse. In each of the representations the obverse, as seen through the coin, would be upside down.



Comments welcome.

Roger Moore, M. D.

**Letter to Roger Moore from Charles Smith
(4/6/97)**

Dear Roger,

Thank you for the letter of March 18, 1997 and your kind remarks. The article, "A Quantitative Classification System for Strike Errors" [CNL-103, pages 1646-1654] and the follow-up article, "An Error Sampler: Analysis of Nine Coin Errors Using a Quantitative Classification System" [CNL-104, pages 1665-1668] propose a classification system for mint production errors characteristically found for 17th, 18th and early 19th century coppers. The system is quantitative and uses the minimum number of variables [angles and displacements] that assures unique classification for each error type. These articles emphasize definitions and measurement techniques and this, I believe, is the point on which your letter is focused.

Let me explain the reasons for my choices of how to measure angles. First of all, as the articles explain and illustrate, Die-Rotation Errors [A], Off-Strike Errors [D, A], Brockage Errors [D, A, T] and Double-Strike Errors [D1, A1, D2, A2, R, T] all require angular measurement. To keep the number of rules for angular measurement to a minimum and to keep them as simple as

possible, it turns out that this is accomplished by measuring all angles with respect to departures from proper orientation and counterclockwise. The former seems a reasonable choice since, after all, we are trying to document departures from the “ideal” case; that is, all variables read zero for a “perfect” coin. The latter is a choice by convention but a choice that nevertheless must be specified, as your letter clearly states. The reason I chose counterclockwise over clockwise is an important one. By convention, angles are measured counterclockwise in all the mathematical and physical sciences. In trigonometry, for example, angles are measured counterclockwise from a specified axis. When this axis is the positive x-axis [the usual case], then the rules for the signs of the various trigonometric functions are unique and internally consistent. These are specified in terms of the four Cartesian quadrants which we learned in school, i.e., the first quadrant being the upper right region [0° - 90°], the second quadrant the upper left region [90° - 180°], etc. going around the origin counterclockwise. The vector algebra convention for cross-products of vectors uses so-called right hand coordinate systems measuring angles counterclockwise. All physical laws, by international convention, use right hand coordinate systems and employ counterclockwise angular measurement [physics, astronomy, chemistry, etc.]. Therefore, in proposing a quantitative error classification system, I felt compelled to form this part of numismatic science so that it would be in line with the other quantitative sciences.

I agree with you that there is really no uniform past practice and that one can find both clockwise and counterclockwise measurement used in auction catalogues and specified in the literature. Even within the same document, I have seen both used, the choice determined by which yields the smaller angle [45° counterclockwise will be chosen over 315° clockwise, for example]. I felt that perhaps the time had come to make a choice. I have proposed, therefore, “The Smith Error Classification System” [as some people who have recently written to me or sent me error coin photographs for analysis, have named it] which measures all angles as departures from the “ideal orientation” case and all angles counterclockwise. For example, taking error A illustrated in Appendix C of the *CNL-103* article and the first error analyzed in the *CNL-104* article, when the coin is first viewed with its obverse properly oriented and then turned over 180° about its horizontal axis, we would expect a properly produced NJ to show the shield right side up, that is, the point of the bottom of the shield would be at the bottom of the reverse. But illustration A shows it rotated. Starting from the “proper orientation position” [the correctly produced coin], the image is rotated 210° counterclockwise; i.e., 30° on past up-side down.

To have rules that measure some angles one way and other angles the opposite way or to choose unusual starting orientations would lead to unnecessary complications and perhaps worse, confusion. It was a major goal of this work to frame a system that was as simple as possible, that can assure uniqueness. My hope is that, by keeping it as simple as possible, it will be easy enough for people to apply [without the rules in front of them] so as to slowly pass into common use. Through common use a quantitative data base will grow, from which clear conclusions, with enhanced confidence can be drawn.

I hope these remarks reflect in some way the choices and reasoned structure behind the proposed classification system. When starting out, it was a conscious decision for me to set aside the two common exceptions, clocks and compasses, which measure angles clockwise, and to choose the international scientific conventions of counterclockwise angular measurement, but in the end I believe it will prove best.

Sincerely,

Charles W. Smith

Editor's Comments

Mike Hodder: The way I prefer is the one I was taught at the 1978 ANS Summer Seminar. The coin is held at the top and the bottom of the obverse with the obverse design facing right side up. The coin is then rotated left a half turn, which brings the reverse design into full view. On American coins, the reverse will be seen to be upside down, a normal "coin turn". On medals and many European coins, such a rotation will show the reverse right side up, or normal "medal turn."

I learned the technique from Jeremiah Brady, ex-curator of medieval coins. It wasn't part of a particular, institutional, curriculum. In my mind, the most important justification for the technique I use is that it's the one used by the world's mints when they spot check the set ups of their dies prior to and during the striking of their coins.

It would be better if we could all stick to one style of establishing reverse die orientation.

James C. Spilman: I agree [with Mike]. NOW -- "coin turn" I have always designated graphically as two small arrows side by side, the first pointing upward and the second pointing downward AND in writing I have designated this die orientation as 180 degrees. Also - "medal turn" would be zero degrees. If when you make your "coin turn" rotation and the head of the reverse effigy (or the "design"), is to the left, it would be designated as 270 degrees, or if to the right it would be 90 degrees die juxtaposition. (And the small graphical arrows would be arranged accordingly).

PLM: Other reader input is certainly welcome.

Errata to
Money of the American Colonies and Confederation
by
Philip L. Mossman, M.D.; Hampden, ME

Four years have elapsed since *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation* was published by the American Numismatic Society. In that period, several misprints and errors in content have been detected which I'll now strive to emend in this present communication. This section is so arranged that it may be removed from the *CNL* and placed inside the front cover of the book for quick reference. No new material will be added at this time but rather it will appear as separate articles within future issues of *The Colonial Newsletter*.



Book jacket: I failed to indicate that the coin illustrated on the book jacket is a struck 1775 counterfeit English halfpenny, perhaps the most common copper in British North America.

p. 18: I do apologize to Dan M. Lacy, author of *The Meaning of the American Revolution* (New York, 1964), for misspelling his name, Lucy.

p. 46, line 25: "immigrating" rather than "emigrating" better describes the action of those entering into the country.

p. 73; Fig. 14 (e): John Kleeberg has since confirmed this "half-joe" to be a very well made contemporary struck counterfeit.

p. 116, Fig. 32 (c): This piece from my own collection, found in a "junk box," is obviously cast and not struck. My initial reaction was that it must be struck since shortly after I found this piece, a second, almost identical copper, surfaced in another non-collector accumulation in the same area. The defect above King George's head, originally thought to be a break in crudely made dies, is obviously the casting port. It is now evident that these two coppers were cast from the same or very similar mold. The occurrence of two similar cast specimens raises the question which can never be proven, "were these of local manufacture?"

p. 131, line 18: Dean Swift wrote seven, not four, letters attacking Wood's Coppers. I found another valuable reference, *The Drapier's Letters to the People of Ireland against receiving Wood's Halfpence*, edited by Herbert Davis (London, 1935, reprint 1965).

p. 138: Several more coinage proposals for the American Colonies are summarized in Nettles, *Money Supply*, pp. 174-77.

p. 139, Fig. 42 (a): In his study of Higley coppers, Dan Freidus observed that this piece, donated many years ago to the ANS, is not genuine. He comments, "It is so different from any other specimen that I cannot imagine that it was intended for collectors. My best guess would be that it is either a contemporary counterfeit (engraved or struck from hand-engraved dies?) or a later fantasy, not really intended to deceive. I lean a bit towards the former, but in that case doubt that it was struck, since making dies would have been a significant feat in the 1730s or 40s."

p. 147, note 9: It was in June 1775, not 1776, that Congress discarded the English currency denominations.

p. 150, line 28: The date of the *London Gazette* was December 21, 1776, not the 2nd.

p. 158, note 64: A liard was the smallest French copper of the period with four to one sou.

p. 164: The first sentence of the second paragraph is in error. It should read, "The completed die is a mirror image of the final design on the struck coin, the die being a negative and the finished coin a positive representation." Although the completed die is negative, the mistake is that the punches and hubs used to sink the die are *positive*, just as is the final struck coin. Embossing, or raising a design, describes the action of a die on the planchet and is incorrectly applied to a punch which sinks, or debosses, an image into the working, or embossing, die. As noted in the Breen reference, state coppers were struck from working dies (negative image) whose designs

were sunk by positive device puncheons while the numbers and letters were added by individual punches. From one stage of manufacture to the next, the image alternates from negative to positive. Cooper's observation (*Coinmaking*, pp. 161-62) helps clarify this further.

Striking punches from matrices, and dies from punches, involved much heavier blows than those needed for striking the coins of the same design. The heaviest presses available were used for this operation. ... The steel die blank needed two or three times the force required for striking a coin of similar size, and all but the very smallest dies were struck with a number of blows. Also it was more difficult to strike the positive punch from the negative matrix than the negative die from the punch. (It is easier to drive the upstanding positive design down into the surface of the die blank than to force metal up into the incuse negative design).

The last two sentences explain why intricate letter punches raised from master matrices are so frequently defective and fragile. The "broken A" punch is a well known example of this.

p. 198, line 20: Regarding the *Georgius Triumpho* copper, there is no evidence that it circulated in the southern United States or the West Indies. Its occurrence as a host coin for New Jersey coppers should be further substantiated. See George Fuld, "Coinage Featuring George Washington," *Coinage of the Americas Conference*, October 28, 1995 (New York, 1996).

p. 200, Fig. 69 (a): The accompanying illustration is of a "long worm" shilling.

p. 236: In the poem, "The Coppers Done Over," we read in the last line "b-mfdd-r"; John Kleeberg has identified this as "bumfodder," or the contemporaneous reference to toiletpaper. In the fifth stanza on the next page, "Conty" is explained as "Continental," a reference to the worthless Continental currency.

p. 238, line 26: The corrected spelling of Commonwealth.

p. 271, Appendix 2, Table 29: Under 17-b, change 1787 M. 33.2-ZZ.5 to M. 33.2-Z.5.

pp. 279-95, Appendix 4: The 26 bar graphs in this section need to be reexamined. The number of bars and the five grain increments for most (19) of the histograms were originally formulated by inspection of the data. Charles W. Smith pointed out to me Zernicke's rule for establishing the ideal number of "bins" [bars] in a bar graph. This principle states that by multiplying the cube root of the number of specimens in the sample by two, the correct number of bars in the histogram can be calculated so that the shape of the histogram will be statistically accurate. According to that formula, in 21 of the 26 histograms in this appendix, there should have been fewer but wider bars. The problem obviously is the result of the very few specimens at the extremes of the histograms where bins typically contain zero, one or two specimens. Chart 17 is a good example of this where three bins are empty. This histogram was set up with 13 bins at five grain intervals but the formula states there should be only 10 bins of 6.5 grains increments ($166-101=65$, $65\div10=6.5$). If these three left empty bins and the lone specimen in the first bin are ignored, we would be left with ten bins of four grains, and the general shape of the curve unchanged. Although the histograms in the appendix have not been redrawn, it appears that all would comply with the statistical requirement if all bins of zero, one or two specimens were excluded. The omission of these bins would not substantially change the shape of the histograms and the double populations noted in Charts 16, 20, and 24 would not be altered.

p. 312: index for "sou" should read, "p. 158 and 158n."

p. 313: "stuiver" misspelled stiver; pp. 65-68.



In my preface I repeated the couplet from Sylvester Crosby's 1875 classic work, which he in turn had borrowed from its original author, Alexander Pope.

*Whoever thinks a faultless piece to see,
Thinks what ne'er was, nor is, nor e'er shall be*

The above list of "faults" indeed prove that little verse to be "more truth than poetry!" If you find any more, let me know.

What's New with the Bank of New York Fugio Hoard?
from
Anthony Terranova, New York, NY

(TN-178)

Have you ever wondered about the fate of that Fugio hoard languishing in the vault of the Bank of New York? Well, read on and you'll soon find out, thanks to a recent memo submitted by patron Tony Terranova. This letter, written by Tony to a colleague, describes his adventures in the bowels of the bank where he had the opportunity to examine the remnants of the hoard. But first, you may wish to refresh your memory about the history of this fantastic discovery as it was reported some thirty years ago in *CNL*, pp. 195-97. **PLM**

Hi George,

As per our phone conversation about that hoard of Fugios in the Bank of New York, this is what I know.

The hoard, in three cotton bags, first came to light in 1926. The only report until then was contained in a magazine article by W. C. Prime in 1860, when it was stated that a keg of Fugios had been found. In 1947 and before, they were presented as gifts to new depositors of attractive accounts and long term employees. Many of these Fugio "gifts" were in encased lucite blocks, on which the recipient's name was embossed. Each individual block was enclosed in a brown, simulated leather, cardboard, felt lined box accompanied by a four page pamphlet relating a short history of the Fugio "Cent."

Then in about 1947 or so, the hoard, for the first time, was examined by a numismatist, Damon Douglas, who shared the information with E. P. Newman. At that date, there were 1640 coppers distributed between nine die combinations.

In 1991 or so, a friend of mine was having lunch with the Chairman of the Board of the Bank of New York. The conversation turning to coins, my friend asked about the Fugios. The reply came something to the effect, "... *would you like to see them?*" My friend replied, "yes," and an appointment was set up with the historian of the bank.

He was taken into the vault where they were kept. A cloth bag was removed from a box and the coins were dumped loose on the top of a table. My friend then examined some and told the right people that they had a very valuable asset, but if they continued to store them in this way, their assets' value would soon be zero. Soon after, there was another meeting with the Chairman of the Board who asked what could be done to protect and conserve them. My friend suggested that he knew someone who could not only curate the coins but also give a good idea of their worth. I was that person.

I soon had an appointment to view the coins and organize a plan for their proper conservation and storage. The hoard's number, dwindled to 819 pieces by this time, was in all varying states of preservation from red uncirculated to water damaged and stained junk. Some were in unengraved lucite blocks. Each loose coin was wrapped in a clean poly bag and then inserted in a clear acetate flip. These were then stacked in double row, heavy duty, coin boxes. I had wanted to put them in paper coin envelopes, but the bank auditor needed visually to count them every year.

As far as I know, they are still there and I hope still in their protective flips.

signed,
Tony Terranova
March 2, 1997